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Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution

As Proposed and Signed by

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Foreword

The Committee To Frame a World Constitution was formed in the early days of the atomic age. It held thirteen meetings, of two or three days each, from November, 1945, to July, 1947. Its work, together with contributions of a staff of associates, is summarized in the Index of Documents—150, totaling ca. 4,500 pages—on pages 69–80 of this volume. The directives and intents of the Committee's work have been illustrated for a wider audience in Common Cause, a monthly magazine published by the Committee since July, 1947. A "Brief History of the Committee" in the first issue (pp. 11–22) reported on the main developments in the research and progressive deliberations of the group.

A constitutional draft, listed in the Index of Documents as No. 141, was approved in the thirteenth Committee meeting, except for a few variants and difficulties whose study was assigned to a drafting subcommittee of four. The work of the subcommittee was completed within the same month, and its results were proposed to the other colleagues during the following weeks.

The text, so revised, was printed in a confidential edition, "not for public circulation or use," whose front cover, dated October, 1947, described the document as a "Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution submitted for comment to a restricted number of leaders and experts by the Committee To Frame a World Constitution." Approximately 350 copies were distributed. The same text, with only slight modifications, was published in Common Cause, March, 1948, and reprinted immediately after by the Saturday Review of Literature and the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. Reprints in Britain and other English-speaking countries as well as translations into a number of languages are under way.

No change has been introduced in the constitutional draft as presented in this volume, which intends to provide a stand-

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ard edition, more easily accessible to the general reader, while supplementing the text with a basic record of the Committee's work and such essential explanation as may be desired also by translators and students of World Government abroad.

A more comprehensive commentary, by G. A. Borgese, and a symposium of world federalist papers under the editorship of Robert Redfield are planned in the near future.

A "Foreword to the Reader," both of the confidential edition and of the text as published in *Common Cause*, outlined the intentions as well as the limits of the Committee's endeavor. The explanations given in those paragraphs seem no less valid today than at the time when they were written.

The members of the Committee To Frame a World Constitution, said the Foreword, have never thought that they could be remembered some day as the Committee that Framed the World Constitution. Their ambition or hope was and is to do their part in taking down to earth or, so to speak, spelling out, the general movement for World Government that has been growing, not always in definite shape, during these years. The problems of World Government are hard and intricate. The Committee felt that these problems can be best clarified in a constitutional design, intended as a concrete picture to show what a Federal Republic of the World, under certain conceivable circumstances, might look like. Thus visualized in an exact frame of government and law, the Republic of the World does not look so absurd-"utopian" is the word-as defeatism maintains. Neither does it look so self-evident as frivolous optimism would prefer to believe.

That the "conceivable circumstances" for the rise of a World Republic are not at hand, the Committee knows full well. Paramount among those circumstances should be the willingness of Russia, but not of Russia alone, to surrender sovereignty. To create those circumstances is beyond the power of any indi-

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vidual or group, and this Committee is not a guild of miracle-makers. It is quite possible that the human race has not yet suffered enough to learn, and that wisdom should be expected only from the ashes of a conflagration out of which, according to an authoritative American forecast, would emerge not one Rome but two Carthages.

Yet World Government shall come—this is practically the consensus in this generation—whether within five years or fifty, whether without a conflagration or after it. In this perspective the Committee's Constitution is meant, no less humbly than confidently, as a proposal to history. History may weigh it today or tomorrow. History certainly, when the proposal is weighed against circumstances and forces which are undisclosed today, will find it wanting. But it is not equally certain that the proposal will be ignored altogether. For a shape of things to come, provided it has a consistency of its own, has a power of attraction on the things to come; or, otherwise stated, a pattern or form born in the mind, if it is to some extent ideal and rational alike, bids for embodiment in the world of the real and quickens, to an unpredictable extent, the historical process of which it is a forerunner.

In any case it will not be immoderate to assume that this Constitution should provide usable tracks for further study and discussion of the problem of World Government; which is, basically and ultimately, the problem of the atomic age, out of whose context no particular problem can find or even reasonably seek a separate solution.

July 2, 1948

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS G. A. BORGESE

We notice that a great idea in the background of dim consciousness is like a phantom ocean beating upon the shores of human life in successive waves of specialization. A whole succession of such waves are as dreams slowly doing their work of sapping the base of some cliff of habit; but the seventh wave is a revolution—"And the nations echo round."—A. N. WHITEHEAD.

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Preliminary Draft
of a
World Constitution

Preamble

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The people of the earth having agreed that the advancement of man in spiritual excellence and physical welfare is the common goal of mankind; that universal peace is the prerequisite for the pursuit of that goal; that justice in turn is the prerequisite of peace, and peace and justice stand or fall together; that iniquity and war inseparably spring from the competitive anarchy of the national states; that therefore the age of nations must end, and the era of humanity begin; the governments of the nations have decided to order their separate sovereignties in one government of justice, to which they surrender their arms; and to establish, as they do establish, this Constitution as the covenant and fundamental law of the Federal Republic of the World.

^a Disappearing clauses and articles, on pp. 11, 13, 14, 17, 18, 29, 34, and 35, are within brackets.

Declaration of Duties and Rights

A

The universal government of justice as covenanted and pledged in this Constitution is founded on the Rights of Man.

The principles underlying the Rights of Man are and shall be permanently stated in the Duty

of everyone everywhere, whether a citizen sharing in the responsibilities and privileges of World Government or a ward and pupil of the World Commonwealth:

to serve with word and deed, and with productive labor according to his ability, the spiritual and physical advancement of the living and of those to come, as the common cause of all generations of men;

to do unto others as he would like others to do unto him; to abstain from violence,

except for the repulse of violence as commanded or granted under law.

B

In the context therefore of social duty and service, and in conformity with the unwritten law which philosophies and religions alike called the Law of Nature and which the Republic of the World shall strive to see universally written and enforced by positive law:

it shall be the right of everyone everywhere to claim and maintain for himself and his fellowmen: release from the bondage of poverty and from the servitude and exploitation of labor, with rewards and security according to merit and needs;

freedom of peaceful assembly and of association, in any creed or party or craft, within the pluralistic unity and purpose of the World Republic;

protection of individuals and groups against subjugation and tyrannical rule, racial or national, doctrinal or cultural, with safeguards for the self-determination of minorities and dissenters;

and any such other freedoms and franchises as are inherent in man's inalienable claims to life, liberty, and the dignity of the human person, and as the legislators and judges of the World Republic shall express and specify.

C

The four elements of life—earth, water, air, energy—are the common property of the human race. The management and use of such portions thereof as are vested in or assigned to particular ownership, private or corporate or national or regional, of definite or indefinite tenure, of individualist or collectivist economy, shall be subordinated in each and all cases to the interest of the common good.

Grant of Powers

1

The jurisdiction of the World Government as embodied in its organs of power shall extend to:

- a) The control of the observance of the Constitution in all the component communities and territories of the Federal World Republic, which shall be indivisible and one;
- b) The furtherance and progressive fulfillment of the Duties and Rights of Man in the spirit of the foregoing Declaration, with their specific enactment in such fields of federal and local relations as are described hereinafter [Art. 27 through 33];
- c) The maintenance of peace; and to that end the enactment and promulgation of laws which shall be binding upon communities and upon individuals as well,
- d) the judgment and settlement of any conflicts among component units, with prohibition of recourse to interstate violence,
- e) the supervision of and final decision on any alterations of boundaries between states or unions thereof,
- f) the supervision of and final decision on the forming of new states or unions thereof,
- g) the administration of such territories as may still be immature for self-government, and the declaration in due time of their eligibility therefor,

- b) the intervention in intrastate violence and violations of law which affect world peace and justice,
- i) the organization and disposal of the federal armed forces,
- j) the limitation and control of weapons and of the domestic militias in the several component units of the World Republic;
- k) The establishment, in addition to the Special Bodies listed hereinafter [Art. 8 and 9], of such other agencies as may be conducive to the development of the earth's resources and to the advancement of physical and intellectual standards, with such advisory or initiating or arbitrating powers as shall be determined by law;
- 1) The laying and collecting of federal taxes, and the establishment of a plan and a budget for federal expenditures,
- m) the administration of the World Bank and the establishment of suitable world fiscal agencies for the issue of money and the creation and control of credit,
- n) the regulation of commerce affected with federal interest,
- o) the establishment, regulation, and where necessary of desirable, the operation of means of transportation and communication which are of federal interest;
- p) The supervision and approval of laws concerning emigration and immigration and the movements of peoples,
- q) the granting of federal passports;
- r) The appropriation, under the right of eminent domain, of such private or public property as may be necessary

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- for federal use, reasonable compensation being made therefor;
- s) The legislation over and administration of the territory which shall be chosen as Federal District and of such other territories as may be entrusted directly to the Federal Government.

The powers not delegated to the World Government by this Constitution, and not prohibited by it to the several members of the Federal World Republic, shall be reserved to the several states or nations or unions thereof.

The Federal Convention, The President, The Legislature

3

The sovereignty of the Federal Republic of the World resides in the people of the world. The primary powers of the World Government shall be vested in:

- a) the Federal Convention,
- b) the President,
- c) the Council and the Special Bodies,
- d) the Grand Tribunal, the Supreme Court, and the Tribune of the People,
- e) the Chamber of Guardians.

4

The Federal Convention shall consist of delegates elected directly by the people of all states and nations, one delegate for each million of population or fraction thereof above one-half million, with the proviso that the people of any extant state, recognized as sovereign in 1945, and ranging between 100,000 and 1,000,000, shall be entitled to elect one delegate, but any such state with a population below 100,000 shall be aggregated for federal electoral purposes to the electoral unit closest to its borders.

The delegates to the Federal Convention shall vote as individuals, not as members of national or otherwise collec-

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tive representations; [except as specified hereinafter, Art. 46, paragraph 2, and Art. 47].

The Convention shall meet in May of every third year, for a session of thirty days.

5

The Federal Convention shall subdivide into nine Electoral Colleges according to the nine Societies of kindred nations and cultures, or Regions, wherefrom its members derive their powers, such Regions being:

- the continent of Europe and its islands outside the Russian area, together with the United Kingdom if the latter so decides, and with such overseas English- or Frenchor Cape Dutch-speaking communities of the British Commonwealth of Nations or the French Union as decide to associate (this whole area here tentatively denominated Europa);
- 2) the United States of America, with the United Kingdom if the latter so decides, and such kindred communities of British, or Franco-British, or Dutch-British, or Irish civilization and lineage as decide to associate (Atlantis);
- Russia, European and Asiatic, with such East-Baltic or Slavic or South-Danubian nations as associate with Russia (Eurasia);
- 4) the Near and Middle East, with the states of North Africa, and Pakistan if the latter so decides (Afrasia);
- 5) Africa, south of the Sahara, with or without the South African Union as the latter may decide;

- 6) India, with Pakistan if the latter so decides;
- 7) China, Korea, Japan, with the associate archipelagoes of the North- and Mid-Pacific (Asia Major);
- 8) Indochina and Indonesia, with Pakistan if the latter so decides, and with such other Mid- and South-Pacific lands and islands as decide to associate (Austrasia);
- 9) the Western Hemisphere south of the United States (Columbia).

Each Electoral College shall nominate by secret ballot not more than three candidates, regardless of origin, for the office of President of the World Republic. The Federal Convention in plenary meeting, having selected by secret ballot a panel of three candidates from the lists submitted, shall elect by secret ballot one of the three as President, on a majority of two-thirds.

If three consecutive ballots have been indecisive, the candidate with the smallest vote shall be eliminated and between the two remaining candidates a simple majority vote shall be decisive.

6

Each Electoral College shall then nominate by secret and proportional ballot twenty-seven candidates, originating from the respective Electoral Area or Region, for the World Council; with the proviso that one-third and not more than one-third of the nominees shall not be members of the Federal Convention; and the nine lists having been presented to the Federal Convention, the Federal Convention in plenary meeting shall select by secret and proportional ballot nine Councilmen from each list, with the same proviso as above.

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The Federal Convention shall also elect by secret and proportional ballot, on nominations, prior to the opening of the Convention, by such organizations, of world-wide importance and lawfully active in more than three Regions, as shall be designated [for the first election by the United Nations Assembly and subsequently] by the Council, eighteen additional members, regardless of origin; and the total membership of the World Council shall be thus ninety-nine.

7

The primary power to initiate and enact legislation for the Federal Republic of the World shall be vested in the Council.

The tenure of the Council shall be three years.

The Council shall elect its Chairman, for its whole tenure of three years.

Councilors shall be re-eligible.

8

Within the first three years of World Government the Council and the President shall establish three Special Bodies, namely:

- a) a House of Nationalities and States, with representatives from each, for the safeguarding of local institutions and autonomies and the protection of minorities;
- b) a Syndical or functional Senate, for the representation of syndicates and unions or occupational associations and any other corporate interests of transnational significance, as well as for mediation or arbitration in non-justici-

able issues among such syndicates or unions or other cor.

c) an Institute of Science, Education, and Culture;

each of the three bodies with such membership and tenures and consultative or preparatory powers as shall be established by law and with no prejudice to the establishment of other advisory or technical agencies in accordance with the purposes stated hereinbefore [Art. 1, k].

9

Within its first year the World Government shall establish a Special Body, to be named Planning Agency, of twenty-one members appointed by the President, subject to vetoes by two-thirds of the Council, for tenures of twelve years, [except that the terms for the initial membership shall be staggered by lot, with one-third of it, seven members, ceasing from office and being replaced every fourth year].

It shall be the function of the Planning Agency to envisage the income of the Federal Government and to prepare programs and budgets for expenditures, both for current needs and for long-range improvements. These programs and budgets shall be submitted by the President, with his recommendations, to the Council, as provided hereinafter [Art, 13]

Plans for improvement of the world's physical facilities, either public or private, and for the productive exploitation of resources and inventions shall be submitted to the Agency or to such Development Authorities or regional subagencies

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as it may establish. The Agency shall pass judgment on the social usefulness of such plans.

Members of the Planning Agency shall not be re-eligible nor shall they, during their tenure in the Agency, have membership in any other federal body.

10

The executive power, together with initiating power in federal legislation, shall be vested in the President. His tenure shall be six years.

The President shall not have membership in the Council. The President shall not be re-eligible. He shall not be eligible to the Tribunate of the People until nine years have

elapsed since the expiration of his term.

No two successive Presidents shall originate from the same Region.

11

The President shall appoint a Chancellor. The Chancellor, with the approval of the President, shall appoint the Cabinet.

The Chancellor shall act as the President's representative before the Council in the exercise of legislative initiative. The Chancellor and the Cabinet members shall have at any time the privilege of the floor before the Council.

But no Chancellor or Cabinet member shall have a vote or shall hold membership in the Council, nor, if he was a member of the Council at the moment of his executive appointment, shall he be entitled to resume his seat therein

14

Any legislation of the Council can be vetoed by the President within thirty days of its passage. But the Council can overrule the veto if its new vote, by a majority of two-thirds, finds support, within sixty days of the President's action, in the majority of the Grand Tribunal; [and no such support shall be required during the tenure of the first President].

15

The President can be impeached on grounds of treason to the Constitution, or usurpation of power, or felony, or insanity, or other disease impairing permanently his mind.

The vote of impeachment shall be final when three-quarters of the Council and three-quarters of the Grand Tribunal concur and the majority of the Supreme Court validates the legality of the proceedings.

If a President is impeached or resigns or dies in the interval between two sessions of the Federal Convention, the Chairman of the Council shall become Acting President until the new Convention elects a new President; and the Council shall elect a new Chairman.

subsequent Convention. No one shall serve as Chancellor for more than six years.

nor as Cabinet member for more than twelve, consecutive or not.

No three Cabinet members at any one time and no two successive Chancellors shall originate from the same Region.

The Council shall have power to interrogate the Chancellor and the Cabinet and to adopt resolutions on their policies,

The Chancellor and the Cabinet shall resign when the President so decides or when a vote of no confidence by the absolute majority of fifty or more of the Council is confirmed by a second such vote; but no second vote shall be taken and held valid if less than three months have elapsed from the first

12

The sessions of the Council, as well as those of the Grand Tribunal and the Supreme Court, shall be continuous, except for one yearly recess of not more than ten weeks or two such recesses of not more than five weeks each, as the body concerned may decide.

13

The budget of the World Government, upon recommendation by the Planning Agency, shall be presented every three years by the President to the Council, which shall pass it, or reject it in whole titles, by majority vote; the same procedure to apply when at other intervals the President requests additional appropriations or approval of

The Grand Tribunal and

The Supreme Court

16

The supreme judiciary power of the World Republic shall be vested in a Grand Tribunal of sixty Justices, with the President of the World Republic as Chief Justice and Chairman, and the Chairman of the Council as Vice-Chairman ex officio.

The President as Chief Justice shall appoint the Justices of the Grand Tribunal and fill the vacancies, subject to vetoes by the Council on majorities of two-thirds. He shall have power to overrule any such veto if he finds support in a two-thirds majority of the Justices in office, [except that no such power shall be vested in the first President].

No one, except the Chairman of the Council, shall hold membership at the same time in the Council and the Tribunal; nor shall a Chancellor or Cabinet member hold membership in the Tribunal or be eligible to it until six years have elapsed from the termination of his executive office.

17

The tenure of the Chief Justice and Chairman and of the Vice-Chairman of the Grand Tribunal shall be the time of

their tenure of office respectively as President of the World Republic and as Chairman of the Council.

The President shall have power to appoint an Alternate, subject to approval by the Grand Tribunal, for the exercise of such of his functions in the judiciary branch and for such a time within his tenure as he may decide.

The tenures of the sixty Justices shall be fifteen years, [except that the terms for the initial membership shall be staggered by lot, with one-fifth of it, twelve Justices, ceasing from office and being replaced every third year].

Justices of the Grand Tribunal shall not be re-eligible, except that a Justice appointed as Chancellor or Cabinet member, having resigned his membership in the Tribunal, shall be re-eligible to it for the unfulfilled portion of his tenure when six years have elapsed from the termination of his executive office.

18

The sixty Justices shall be assigned twelve to each of five Benches:

the First Bench to deal with constitutional issues between the primary organs and powers of the World Government as well as with all issues and cases in which the Tribune of the People shall decide to appear in his capacity of World Attorney and defender of the Rights of Man;

the Second Bench to deal with issues and conflicts between the World Government and any of its component units, whether single states or unions thereof or Regions, as well as with issues and conflicts of component units of the World Republic among themselves;

the Third Bench to deal with issues and conflicts between the World Government and individual citizens or corporations or unions or any other associations of citizens;

the Fourth Bench to deal with issues and conflicts among component units, whether single states or unions of states or Regions, and individual citizens or corporations or unions or any other associations of citizens when such issues and conflicts affect the interpretation or enactment of federal law;

the Fifth Bench to deal with issues and conflicts, when they affect the interpretation and enactment of federal law, either among individual citizens or among corporations, unions, syndicates, or any other collective organizations of citizens and interests.

Each Region shall be represented in each Bench by at least one member and not more than two.

19

The Supreme Court shall be of seven members: five representing one each Bench, with the Chief Justice as their Chairman and the Chairman of the Council as their Vice-Chairman ex officio; and the active membership of the Benches shall thus remain of eleven each.

No two members of the Supreme Court shall originate from the same Region

The representatives of the Benches in the Supreme Court shall be elected by secret vote of the Grand Tribunal in plenary session, with each Justice casting a ballot for five candidates, one from each Bench, and with those candidates elected who have obtained the largest vote, except that any

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presumptive electee shall be held ineligible whose assignment to the Court would duplicate the representation therein of any one Region or Bench.

If the first vote fails to fill all seats, the vote shall be repeated according to the same regulations.

The tenures of the members of the Supreme Court shall be: for the Chairman and Vice-Chairman the same as their tenures of office respectively as President of the World Republic and as Chairman of the Council, and for the other members six years, at the end of which each of the five elected by the Grand Tribunal may be re-elected or shall be restored to the Bench whereof he was the delegate; but no Justice shall sit in the Court beyond his regular term of membership in the Tribunal; and when the latter term expires before the regular six-year term in the Court is completed, or when an elective member of the Court resigns or dies, the Grand Tribunal shall fill the vacancy for the unfulfilled portion of the term by secret partial election in plenary session, with the same proviso as above in regard to the representation of Regions.

Regions which have not been represented in the Supreme Court for two successive six-year terms shall have mandatory precedence in the elections for the third term.

20

The Supreme Court shall distribute the cases among the five Benches of the Grand Tribunal according to competences as specified hereinbefore [Art. 18].

Cases where competences overlap or are otherwise doubt-

23

ful shall be referred to such Bench or Benches jointly as the Supreme Court shall decide.

The Supreme Court shall have power to modify the rules of assignment for the five Benches as specified in Art. 18, subject to approval by the majority of the Council and by a two-thirds majority of the Grand Tribunal concurrently.

21

It shall be the office and function of the Supreme Court to review the decisions of the Benches, within three months of their issuance, said decisions to become effective upon registration by the Court, or, when annualled, to be returned for revision each to the Bench which judged the case, or to another, or to others jointly as the Court may decide; annulment to be pronounced in cases of unfair trial or faulty procedure, and also for reasons of substance when final appeal was filed by the losing party, if the Court at its own discretion choose to take cognizance thereof, or by the Tribune of the People, whose demand shall be mandatory.

22

The Grand Tribunal, with the approval of the Supreme Court, shall establish Lower Federal Courts in such number and places as conditions in the component units of the World Republic shall require, and a Federal Appellate Court in each Region. It shall also determine the rules and competences of such courts, and appoint their officials on the basis of competitive examinations.

The President or his Alternate and the Chairman of the Council shall not sit as judges in cases affecting the solution of conflicts between the President and the Council.

The President or Acting President or Alternate, or a Justice or the Chairman of the Council in his capacity of Justice, shall not sit as a judge in cases involving his appointment or impeachment or demotion or tenure or in any other way affecting his particular interest.

24

No member of the Council or the Grand Tribunal shall be liable to removal from office until a criminal sentence on charges of felony or grave misdemeanor is final. But he shall be suspended from office, pending last recourse to the Grand Tribunal, when a sentence of guilty, issued by a lower court, has been confirmed by a Federal Appellate Court.

The Supreme Court shall pronounce final judgment on the legality of the proceedings. It shall also pronounce final judgment on the legal validity of elections and appointments to the Council and the Tribunal, and to the offices of President and of Tribune of the People.

25

The President in his capacity of World Chief Justice shall have power of pardon over sentences passed under federal law.

The Tribune of the People and The World Law

26

The Federal Convention, after electing the Council, shall elect by secret ballot the Tribune of the People as a spokesman for the minorities, this office to be vested in the candidate obtaining the second largest vote among the eligible candidates; ineligible to the office of Tribune being any candidate having also been nominated by any Electoral College for the office of President in the current Convention, or having been a President or Acting President or Alternate or a member of the Grand Tribunal at any time in the nine year preceding said Convention, or originating from the same Region as the President simultaneously in office.

The Tribune of the People shall not have membership in the Council.

The tenure of the Tribune of the People shall be three years. He shall have power to appoint a Deputy, subject to the same ineligibilities as above, with tenure to expire not later than his own.

He shall not be re-eligible, nor shall he be eligible to the office of President or Alternate or Justice of the Grand Tribunal, until nine years have elapsed from the expiration of his present term.

The Tribune, or his appointed Deputy, shall have the privilege of the floor before the Grand Tribunal and, under such regulations as shall be established by law, before the Supreme Court; but no vote in either; and he shall not be present when a vote is taken.

27

It shall be the office and function of the Tribune of the People to defend the natural and civil rights of individuals and groups against violation or neglect by the World Government or any of its component units; to further and demand, as a World Attorney before the World Republic, the observance of the letter and spirit of this Constitution; and to promote thereby, in the spirit of its Preamble and Declaration of Duties and Rights, the attainment of the goals set to the progress of mankind by the efforts of the ages.

28

No law shall be made or held valid in the World Republic or any of its component units:

- inflicting or condoning discrimination against race or nation or sex or caste or creed or doctrine; or
- 2) barring through preferential agreements or coalitions of vested interests the access on equal terms of any state or nation to the raw materials and the sources of energy of the earth; or
- establishing or tolerating slavery, whether overt or covert, or forced labor, except as equitable expiation en-

[25]

dured in state or federal controlled institutions and intended for social service and the rehabilitation of the convicted criminal; or

4) permitting, whether by direction or indirection, arbitrary seizure or search, or unfair trial, or excessive penalty, or application of ex post facto laws; or

5) abridging in any manner whatsoever, except as a punishment inflicted by law for criminal transgression, the citizen's exercise of such responsibilities and privileges of citizenship as are conferred on him by law; or

6) curtailing the freedom of communication and information, of speech, of the press, and of expression by whatever means, of peaceful assembly, of travel;

paragraphs 5 and 6 to be subject to suspension according to circumstances, universally or locally, in time of emergency imperiling the maintenance and unity of the World Republic; such state of emergency, world-wide or local, 10 be proposed by the Chamber of Guardians and proclaimed concurrently by a two-thirds majority of the Council and a two-thirds majority of the Grand Tribunal for a period not in excess of six months, to be renewable on expiration with the same procedure for successive periods of six months or less but in no case beyond the date when the time of emergency is proclaimed closed, on the proposal of the Chamber of Guardians by simple majority votes of the Council and of the Grand Tribunal concurrently or, if the Guardians' proposal is deemed unduly delayed, by threequarters majority votes of the Council and of the Grand Tribunal concurrently.

29

Capital punishment shall not be inflicted under federal law.

30

Old age pensions, unemployment relief, insurance against sickness or accident, just terms of leisure, and protection to maternity and infancy shall be provided according to the varying circumstances of times and places as the local law may direct.

Communities and states unable to provide adequate social security and relief shall be assisted by the Federal Treasury, whose grants or privileged loans shall be administered under federal supervision.

31

Every child from the age of six to the age of twelve shall be entitled to instruction and education at public expense, such primary six-year period to be obligatory and further education to be accessible to all without discrimination of age or sex or race or class or creed.

Communities and states unable to fulfill this obligation shall be assisted by the Federal Treasury with the same proviso as in Art. 30.

32

All property or business whose management and use have acquired the extension and character of a federal public service or whereon restrictive trade practices have conferred the character and power of a transnational monopoly, shall become the property of the Federal Government upon payment of a just price as determined by law.

Every individual or group or community shall have the right of appeal against unjust application of a law, or against the law itself, gaining access through the inferior court, local or federal, to the superior and the Grand Tribunal, and securing the counsel and support of the Tribune of the People when the Tribune so decides; and, if a law or statute is found evidently in conflict with the guarantees pledged in the foregoing articles or irreparably in contradiction with the basic principles and intents of the World Republic as stated in the Preamble to this Constitution and in its Declaration of Duties and Rights, the Grand Tribunal shall have power to recommend to the Supreme Court that such law or statute be declared, and the Supreme Court shall have power to declare it, null and void.

34

The Tribune of the People cannot be impeached except on the same grounds and with the same procedure as specified for the President in Art. 15.

If the Tribune of the People is impeached or resigns or dies, his substitute for the unfulfilled portion of his tenure shall be the candidate to the Tribunate who was next in line in the last Federal Convention, with the same provisos in regard to eligibility as in Art. 26, first paragraph.

The Chamber of Guardians

35

The control and use of the armed forces of the Federal Republic of the World shall be assigned exclusively to a Chamber of Guardians under the chairmanship of the President, in his capacity of Protector of the Peace. The other Guardians shall be six Councilmen elected by the Council and the Grand Tribunal in Congress assembled, for terms of three years. [But the Grand Tribunal shall not participate in the first election.]

One former President shall also sit in the Chamber of Guardians, the sequence to be determined term for term, or, if he resign or die, for the fractional term, according to seniority in the presidential office; he shall have the privilege of the floor in the deliberations of the Chamber, but no vote in its decisions.

Officers holding professional or active rank in the armed forces of the Federal Republic, or in the domestic militia of any component unit thereof, shall not be eligible as Guardians.

36

The election of the six elective Guardians shall be by secret and proportional vote, with each Elector casting a ballot of six names or less; but no three Guardians of the seven, including the President and excluding the ex-Presi-

38

dent, shall originate from the same Region; and any presumptive electee whose election would contravene this norm shall be declared ineligible and replaced by the candidate fulfilling the norm and having obtained the next largest vote.

Regions which have not been represented among the seven Guardians referred to above, for two successive three year terms, shall have mandatory precedence in the subsequent elections; but the Guardian or Guardians originating from a nation or Region where sedition against the World Republic is actual or, according to the majority of the Chamber, imminently expected, shall cease from office and be replaced; unless the other Guardians decide unanimously otherwise.

No Guardian can be impeached or in any way suspended or removed from office for any other reason, except on such grounds and with such procedure as specified for the President and the Tribune of the People hereinbefore [Art. 15 and 34], and for the Guardians hereinafter [Art. 38].

If a Guardian resigns or dies or is in any way suspended or removed, his substitute for the unfulfilled portion of the term shall be chosen by partial election, with the same rules and provisos as in the first two paragraphs of this article, each elector casting a ballot of one or more names as the number of vacancies may be.

37

The Chancellor shall have access to the Chamber of Guardians as Deputy of the President, whose vote he shall cast by proxy if the President so decides.

Appropriations for the budget of Peace and Defense, under control of the Chamber of Guardians, as proposed by the Chamber at the beginning of each term for the whole duration thereof, shall be submitted by the President to the Council, in conformity with Art. 13. But if a state of emergency is declared, in the manner and limits as specified hereinbefore [Art. 28, last paragraph], the Chamber shall have power to demand and appropriate such additional funds as the emergency demands, subject to auditing and sanction by the Council when the emergency is closed; whereafter, if sanction is denied, the Guardians responsible shall be liable to impeachment and prosecution for usurpation of power with the same procedure as specified for the President and the Tribune of the People hereinbefore [Art. 15 and 34].

39

The Chamber shall have power to propose by absolute majority, subject to approval by two-thirds majority votes of the Council and of the Grand Tribunal concurrently, extraordinary powers, world-wide or local, to be conferred on the President beyond those assigned to him by this Constitution, when a state of emergency, as provided in Art. 28, is proclaimed; such powers not to be granted for periods exceeding six months each and to be relinquished before the expiration of any such period as soon as the state of emergency, in conformity with Art. 28, is proclaimed closed.

40

The Chamber of Guardians shall answer interrogations from the Council on its general and administrative direc-

DRAFT OF A WORLD CONSTITUTION

tives, but no vote shall be taken after discussion thereof, except as otherwise provided in Art. 28 and 39; and the decisions of the Chamber in matters technical and strategic shall be final, and withheld from publicity when the Chamber so decides.

41

The Chamber of Guardians, assisted by a General Staff and an Institute of Technology whose members it shall appoint, shall determine the technological and the numerical level that shall be set as limits to the domestic militias of the single communities and states or unions thereof.

Armed forces and the manufacture of armaments beyond the levels thus determined shall be reserved to the World Government.

The Federal Capital and

Federal Language and Standards

42

Within one year of its foundation the World Republic shall choose a Federal Capital, or a site therefor, with eminent domain over it and an adequate Federal District.

43

Within three years of its foundation the Federal Government shall designate one language, which shall be standard for the formulation and interpretation of the federal laws; and for analogous purposes, relative to communication, taxation and finances, it shall establish in its first year a federal unit of currency with a federal system of measures and a federal calendar.

44

Amendments to this Constitution, recommended concurrently by a two-thirds majority of the Council and of the Grand Tribunal, shall be in force when approved by a twothirds majority of the Federal Convention in the Constitutional Session following the recommendation.

Constitutional Sessions, of thirty days or less, as the discussion may require and the majority may decide, shall be held immediately after the ordinary electoral session in the third Federal Convention and thereafter every ninth year.

[But no amendment altering the electoral units as listed in Art. 5, or the assignment to them of seats in the Council and the other federal bodies, shall be recommended to the first of such Sessions.]

45

The first Federal Convention shall be the Founding Convention.

The ratio of representation therein shall be based on the world population figures as ascertained or authoritatively approximated in 1948.

The ways and means for the convocation of the Founding Convention, and the regulations for its inaugural and voting procedures, shall be determined by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

46

The thirty-day electoral session of the Founding Convention shall be preceded by a preliminary session of thirty days or less for the discussion and approval of this Constitution, such preliminary session to be extended for thirty additional days or less as the discussion may require and the majority may decide.

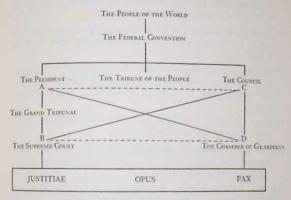
The delegates to the Founding Convention shall vote individually, and not by delegations; except on the assignment to the nine Electoral Colleges or Regions of such optional states or zones as listed hereinbefore [Art. 5]; in which matter the vote of the majority, within the delegation from the state or zone concerned, shall be binding upon the minority; and Art. 5 shall be adjusted accordingly.

47

The Founding Convention having discussed and approved by individual majority vote this Constitution, ratification by collective majorities within as many delegations of states and nations as represent two-thirds of the population of the earth, shall be sufficient for the establishment of the Federal Republic of the World.]

THE COMMITTEE TO FRAME A WORLD CONSTITUTION

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, President
G. A. BORGESE, Secretary
MORTIMER J. ADLER
STRINGFELLOW BARR
ALBERT GUÉRARD
HAROLD A. INNIS
ERICH KAHLER
WILBER G. KATZ
CHARLES H. MCILWAIN
ROBERT REDFIELD
REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

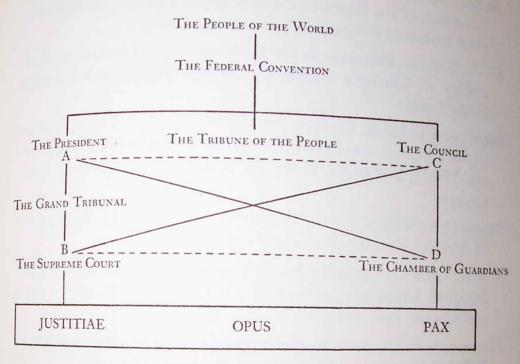


Dotted line AC symbolizes intervention of Council in tenure of the President's Cabinet and Acting Presidency of the Chairman of the Council during vacancies in the Presidency.

Diagonal AD symbolizes Chairmanship of the President in the Chamber of Guardians.

Diagonal CB symbolizes Council's veto power on appointments to the Judiciary and membership of the Chairman of the Council in the Tribunal and Supreme Court.

Dotted line BD symbolizes intervention of the Judiciary in elections to the Chamber of Guardians.



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The Signers

- ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, Chancellor of the University of Chicago, Chairman of the Board of Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica; author of Education for Freedom (1943).
- G. A. Borgese, Professor in the Division of the Humanities, University of Chicago; author of Goliath (1937) and Common Cause (1943).
- MORTIMER J. ADLER, Professor of the Philosophy of Law, University of Chicago; Associate Editor of the Great Books of the Western World; author of How To Think about War and Peace (1944).
- Stringfellow Barr, former President of St. John's College; author of Mazzini, Portrait of an Exile (1935).
- Albert Leon Guérard, Professor Emeritus of General Literature, Stanford University; author of *Literature and Society* (1935) and *Europe Free and United* (1945).
- Harold A. Innis, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Political Economy, University of Toronto.
- ERICH KAHLER, Visiting Professor at Cornell University; author of Man the Measure (1943).
- WILBER G. KATZ, Dean of the Law School, University of Chicago.
- CHARLES H. McIlwain, Professor Emeritus of Science of Government, Harvard University; author of The Growth of Political Thought in the West (1932) and Constitutionalism, Ancient and Modern (1940).
- ROBERT REDFIELD, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago; member of the Board of the American Council on Race Relations; author of Tepozdam (1930) and The Folk Culture of Yucatan (1941).
- REXFORD GUY TUGWELL, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago; former Governor of Puerto Rico; author of Battle for Democracy (1935) and Changing the Colonial Climate (1942).

Summary Report

Structure of a Constitution

A constitution, any constitution, is three things in one. It is a manifesto or proclamation of principles. It is a political organism. It is a juridical mechanism.

Insofar as it is a manifesto or proclamation of principles a spirit that builds to itself the body—the Preliminary Draft we are submitting to public appraisal and cooperation is grounded in a basic belief whose fourfold assumption is:

- a) that war must and can be outlawed and peace can and must be universally enacted and enforced;
- b) that World Government is the only alternative to world destruction;
- c) that "World Government is necessary, therefore it is possible";
- d) that the price of World Government and peace is justice.

Justice in turn is a timeless and universal idea whose historical appearances and demands are variously and progressively determined by the various configurations of the ages.

In our own age and circumstances, the appearance and demands of justice have two commanding aspects. One is the social and economic: to the effect that any bill of civil and political rights (and duties) of the individual must be supplemented and made operative with an adequate bill of economic rights (and duties). The other aspect, equally

imperative, is the racial: to the effect that all color bars must be removed and that the civilized human race, one race, must rise with one act of the will above and beyond any tribal discrimination between chosen peoples and helots, higher breeds and underdogs.

These principles are embodied in the Preamble, in the Declaration of Duties and Rights, in the articles (27 through 33) of the section on The Tribune of the People and The World Law. They are present, explicitly or by implication, in each and all provisions of the Draft.

It is these principles that make of the present Draft what is usually called a "maximal" Constitution, as contrasted with any proposals, all of them still vague, for a "minimal" World Government to be endowed with no more powers than those "adequate for the prevention of war." "Maximal," however, is a conventional term, almost a figure of speech. The Draft Constitution of the Committee is not presented as the utopian picture of a perfect and supreme human society, a super-Platonic Republic of the World, but, on the contrary, as a realistic proposition taking into account the extant realities and forces, against the utopian assumption that a minimal World Government, i.e., a Security World Government, practically a police World State, could be endorsed by a working consent of the human race, with a billion Asiatics subscribing to racial discrimination and the uncounted starving millions made happily law abiding by the "security" that, sheltered by the World Gov ernment from aggression and war, they may tranquilly starve further.

"Maximalism" then in the present instance must be un-

derstood as the real minimalism, namely, the search for the minimum common denominator over which all peoples can meet.

Insofar as the Draft is an organism, a system of constitutional law, its organs and functions have been dictated by a set of convictions on the trends and necessities of historical evolution at the phase we are witnessing and experiencing. It was also the conviction of the proponents that, if the appraisal of those trends is correct, everybody in his span of time is endowed with a certain amount of power to bend them toward conceivable improvements and to see them used for desirable ends.

Such convictions are not of an axiomatic nature, like straight statements of belief, as are the principles underlying the Constitutional Draft as a manifesto. They belong rather in the category of postulates apt for experimental tests and factual analysis, while remaining susceptible to a certain measure of argument and variance.

Two of these postulates, underlying the proposed Constitution as an organism, should be particularly emphasized.

One, endorsed at practically all levels of political thinking and planning today, contends that the so-called nation-state is by definition and nature the enemy and antagonist of the World State. On the other hand, it would be visionary to expect that the so-called nation-states, about seventy or eighty of them—a few really national, most of them corporations of vested interests, and products of chance or bargain, yet hardly less stubborn than the real national states—would consent to blot themselves out or to be blotted out of

the historical picture overnight. Their position and attitude toward the World State in the making is analogous to the position and attitude of resilient city-states and dichard feudalism toward and against the bourgeois and national societies which were in the making a few centuries ago. This is tantamount to admitting that the nation-states cannot be done away with by the stroke of a constitutional pen. If. therefore, a world constitution is intended to be desirable and feasible alike, it must try a middle road pointing to a survival of the extant states, in a framework of local initiatives and authority, while depriving them of functions and powers which are basic to the World Government and which cannot be entrusted to entities driven by nature and tradition to wreck, if they have the opportunity, any world union, as they did wreck the League and have all but wrecked the U.N.

The authors of the Preliminary Draft thought that a middle road could be proposed in the electoral set-up of nine regional colleges, designed according to spheres of cooperation and international compacts which are already operative, and to such continental or bi-continental unions and federations as are more or less imminently visible.

This of course is not yet a world altogether rid of separative national boundaries, as coming generations may wish and have it; but neither is it a crystallization of the obsolescent past. No violence is suggested in either the archaic or the futuristic direction; the contours of the extant states should pale without vanishing in the mergers; and flexible alternatives would be kept open for future stages which no proponent of a world constitution can forecast with credible exactitude.

Democracy is and must be the battle cry of whoever has a vision and hope of man's future. The word is holy even to those who pretend to practice the spirit of "democracy" while clinging to strictest forms of personal or group

despotism.

But the same unanimity—significant even when it is little else than verbal—is not at hand in what concerns the present phase of the representative, and, more specifically, parliamentary system. Its present difficulties and deadlocks are stressed by practically everybody in practically every country, including those that were at the vanguard of parliamentary history and defend its conquests from the strongholds of western democracy. In the West itself—the examples of Roosevelt and Churchill may be sufficient—the reflexes, however involuntary and unplanned, have been noticeable of an urge toward "leadership," above and beyond when not against the parliamentary controls, which in less mature lands resulted and results in the plain suppression or in the travesty of the electoral and representative system under oligarchic or autocratic tyrannies.

The desirable goal is to vest in the executive the power inevitably needed in a society and world whose very complexity demands a substantial amount of centralizationwhich power, if constitutionally withheld, the executive is all too frequently tempted to appropriate by expedients or to grab by violence. To stall such perils the executive should be responsible but strong; or, better stated, it should be strong but responsible, and subject, in the exercise of a legitimately enlarged power, to checks and brakes whose violation should be made forbiddingly difficult by a steady equilibrium in the structure—electoral, legislative, judiciary, military—of the World State.

The Preliminary Draft offers a tentative blueprint in this direction.

Organism and mechanism overlap to a considerable extent. The manifesto or proclamation of principles stands behind both. But the inspiration for a world constitution, insofar as it is a manifesto or proclamation of principles, should come from faith, one might say religious belief-whether received from supernatural revelation or justified by confidence in the ultimate aim, supernatural in its own way, of natural evolution. The proposals for a world constitution, insofar as it is an organism, a system of powers and functions, should derive from comprehensive knowledge and vision of history. Insofar, instead, as a world constitution is a mechanism-a compound of cogs and transmission belts, an articulation of representative quotas, sizes of majorities, number and tenures of officials, procedures in impeachments or vetoes, intervals of the amending power, and so forth-the inspiration does not come so much from faith or knowledge, from religious light or historical enlightenment, as it does, or ought to do, from clever calculation and engineering ability.

Obviously the provisions related to juridical and procedural machinery are in a world constitution, in any constitution, the most open to argument and debate, the most receptive to alternatives and change.

One member of the Committee, Mr. McKeon, disagreed on essential matters relevant to the Constitution both as a manifesto and as an organism; hence his regretted absence among the signatories. All other eleven members agreed; even if the unanimity was not reached without some giveand-take and mutual concessions in matters which did not affect decisively the general order and purpose. Mr. Adler, e.g., while recognizing the ethico-political and symbolical significance of conferring on the President the office of Chief Justice, feels that the load would be too heavy and the concentration of power excessive. In his opinion, which is not unshared either within the Committee or among outside advisors, the two offices had better be separated; and, in any case, should the President be also Chief Justice, it would not seem expedient to confer on him as a judiciary official the pardoning power. Another member, Mr. Borgese, was unwilling, and is unwilling, to consider the abolition of capital punishment "under federal law" (Art. 29) as sufficient; he thought and thinks that capital punishment, a "liturgy of sadism," should be prohibited under any law, federal or local, if the promised safeguards to the dignity of the human person are not to be voided by the legal possibility of suppressing the person itself. A third member, Mr. Tugwell, would have wished, and wishes, in this age of technology, a greater extension and more detailed specification given to economic legislation and planning.

Also in matters relevant to the Constitution as a mechanism, the consent as a rule was unanimous, while in certain instances, of greater or lesser import, one or two members dissented. Two members, e.g., Mr. Guérard and Mr. Katz, were not convinced by the mode of election of the Tribune of the People; neither was Mr. Guérard convinced by the provision limiting to six—instead of nine, one for each region—the members of the Chamber of Guardians. He also would have wished, and wishes, shorter intervals in the amending power. Mr. Hutchins, seconded by at least one colleague, questioned, and questions, the necessity and advisability of the intervention of the Grand Tribunal (Art. 14) in the Council's overriding of a Presidential veto, whereby the Presidential power might be excessively protected against the confirmed will of the legislative organ.

From the addressees ("leaders and experts") of the confidential edition dated October, 1947, the responses were strongly encouraging. Exception must be made for a small group of representative "minimalists." We did not expect enthusiasm from that side. They are still captives of the utterly unrealistic dream—which they deem utter realism—of a World Government intended, at least in its rather indefinite entering phases, as a government for security alone, with the price of peace to be paid in collective power of the suppressive kind and in investment of the money needed thereto, but with justice adjourned to a more or less non-committal future. We are confident that reality and meditation will convince them comparatively soon that the price of peace is justice, or as expressed in our Preamble, "peace and justice stand or fall together."

Contiguous with the above-mentioned representation of expected opponents is the small group, equally expected, of the alarmed souls who suspect socialism, nay, communism, nay, Soviet Russia, in any attempt at furthering the promise and purpose, as American as any human purpose, of social justice.

Most frequently singled out to be branded "Red" has been Section C of the Declaration of Duties and Rights, with its tenet that "the four elements of life—earth, water, air, energy—are the common property of the human race." Be it noted en passant that the legitimacy of particular and individualist ownership, of definite or indefinite tenure, with due regard to the interest of the common good, is unequivocally stated in the same paragraph and breath. Be it also noted that the whole paragraph with its tenet and tenets was indirectly but unmistakably inspired by the September 26, 1943, Albert Hall speech of so Red a roughneck as the late Archbishop of Canterbury.

Otherwise, intellectual leaders, political thinkers, juridical experts, federalist organizers, concurred in cordial appreciation of the Constitutional Draft both as a proclamation of principles and as a system of organs and functions. A young leader in federalism found in the Preliminary Draft an "existing picture of the World Republic," "a real attempt to synthesize East and West." An expert of political and institutional history, western and eastern, condensed a wide-spread attitude of assent by describing the proposed Constitution as "at the same time practical as well as visionary," a combination which he "had not thought possible."

In closer connection with specific problems relevant to the Constitution as an organism, the regional set-up and the electoral system proposed in the Draft were approved by jurists and political observers even in cases where they had formerly pursued different methods of approach, such as weighted representation in the legislative body.

Weighted representation, on whatever account of literacy or power or wealth, had been discarded by the Committee, after insistent discussion, as irreparably undemocratic. Equal representation on the basis of the extant states—such as the two representatives for each of the forty-eight states in the American Senate or the equivalent system in the League of Nations and U.N.—had been discarded for a number of reasons, outstanding among them the dizzy differences of size climaxing in the ratio of China to Iceland, which is 3,500:1. But equal representation, theoretically and politically desirable, became acceptable on the basis of purposively balanced Regions.

It became doubly acceptable within the two-story structure in which the Council as a whole is finally elected by the Federal Convention as a whole, where representatives are strictly proportionate to population, one man one vote, so that in the basic instance each Chinese and each German, each African Negro and each white American have exactly the same share in electoral power. Yet the elected Council is small, wieldy, and well poised between the races and fortunes. An element of flexibility, favoring the peoples of greatest democratic experience and widest influence, economic or politic, was introduced by adding that the Federal Convention shall elect, besides the eighty-one representatives of the nine Regions, eighteen additional Councilors at large. "The master-stroke, of course," wrote one reader, "is nomination by the Regions combined with election by the whole Convention. A real solution of the problem of combining local loyalty and public spirit!"

No less favored on the whole was the description of the executive power, limited while expanded, expanded while limited. "Your executive," wrote the same reader, summarizing again the attitude of many, "seems to me to combine the best features of cabinet responsibility and division of powers. I hear objections to the great power and flexibility of the job as here defined, but I believe that lack of either invites trouble."



Topical remarks, observations, suggestions concerning the machinery or procedural set-up of the Constitutional Draft, as well as proposals of a better or clearer phrasing in one sentence or another, are rather numerous already. They are bound to become more numerous as time goes on. A few, when the intention and meaning of the Draft as submitted in the confidential edition was not altered and the preferability of the variant seemed evident, were incorporated in the text as published in *Common Cause* and here. Much larger is the number of those set apart for further consideration.

Of such critiques and doubts there will be no dearth even when a world constitution has been officially adopted, not to speak of the ceaseless interference that the legislative and judiciary powers exert on any projected or enacted constitution by interpreting its operational provisions, by reconciling dilemmas as disclosed in the yearly and daily practice, finally by gearing those instruments, if the gearing is feasible, to the better use that practice requires, or, when the gearing proves impossible, by acknowledging situations which demand constitutional amendments. In this sense the American constitution, as well as any other living constitution, is permanently in a state of refitting and repair; and nothing could be more fanciful than to suppose that a projected constitution for a World State still to come might be perfect, inviolable, sacramentally immutable.

In the way of exemplification, we shall restrict ourselves

here to a cursory gleaning of queries—followed by cursory answers—from our early correspondents.

- Q.: Should not patents and inventions, perhaps also copyrights, be taken care of in the Grant of Powers?
- A: Why not. However, such matters could be understood as implied in section (n) of the Grant of Powers (on the regulation of commerce).
- Q.: In Article 1 (g) the power of the World Government extends to "such territories as may still be immature for self-government," while in Article 4 "the Federal Convention shall consist of delegates elected directly by the people of all states and nations." Does this mean that a ward and pupil may not be qualified to elect local officers while being qualified to have a share in the election of the federal officers?
- A.: Exactly so—as a preventive against imperialist misuse of delayed or suspended world citizenship. A community may be still immature or temporarily unfit for self-government, yet participate in the appointment of those to whom its government is delegated. Precedents and analogies are not lacking. The English law, e.g., knows the "guardian by election," a tutor appointed by the adolescent owner himself to the administration of his estate until he comes of age.
- Q.: Should there not be a maximum terminal date by which wards shall become citizens?
- A.: By "wards and pupils" the proposed text does not mean communities alone. It also means minors or, more comprehensively, any individual whom any personal incapacitation excludes from the rights and duties of political responsibility, yet not in all cases from other rights and duties as stated in the Declaration. Insofar, however, as "ward and pupil" means a community still "immature for self-government," the query is relevant—lest imperialism manage to perpetuate itself under the cloak of "tutelage," or "trusteeship," erstwhile "the white man's burden." Thirty years from the establishment of World Government might be an eligible terminal date.
- Q. According to Article 6, paragraph 2, as it stands, might we not get too many nominations if we do not require a minimum mem-

bership of 500,000 or 1,000,000 in the organizations entitled to

A.: Such a minimum membership would be so bulky as to prevent, e.g., a world association of scientists or of universities or of other intellectual or spiritual organizations, from nominating candidates. This is undesirable. The provision as spelled out in the present text should seem sufficient.

Q.: Would it not be better to change the name of the "Syndical or functional Senate" (Art. 8)? Syndicalism is an unsavory word to most Americans, it means nothing except "some kind of foreignism," probably subversive. Functional is a vague word, not well understood.

A: We are asking the great majority of mankind to understand and adopt a very substantial amount of American constitutional language. It is only fair to ask the American audience to understand and adopt a moderate amount of "foreign" terminology and tradition.

Q.: Should it not be stated explicitly that the Tribune of the People shall appoint deputies?

A.: Why not,

Q.: "One former President shall also sit in the Chamber of Guadians" (Art. 35). Suppose there is no former President, or only one for more than one term?

A: The seat will wait. The former President anyway has no vote in the decisions of the Chamber. His presence, if available, is desirable; it is not indispensable.

Q: Is it not difficult to imagine that the Constitution can be adopted without reference back to national legislatures?

A.: Difficult imagination and difficult alternative. Perhaps plebiscites could do the job without the disheartening prospect of filibustering and dead-ends in the legislatures (where such are actually extant).

The enumeration could be continued. It is being continued. The discussion could be, and is being, enlarged, in Common Cause and through other mediums as well. It will be summed up in the more comprehensive Commentary which is to follow this brief book.

The one puzzling example, so far, of technical difficulties is the procedure which the Preliminary Draft suggests for the election of the Tribune of the People (Art. 26): "The Federal Convention . . . shall elect by secret ballot the Tribune of the People as a spokesman for the minorities, the office to be vested in the candidate obtaining the second largest vote among the eligible candidates."

Underlying a provision so unusual was the desire:

that the qualifications for the office of Tribune should be rigorously distinct from those for other offices, particularly the presidential;

that the Tribune should neither be a duplicate or retainer of the President in office, a Vice-President in disguise, nor his systematic heckler and rival;

that the Tribune should be truly the spokesman for real minorities, not the exponent of a second party either so manipulated as to serve the majority in power or so made up as to care for little else than its next chance of being the official majority in turn.

For the attainment—within reasonable probabilities, though without definite certitude—of these objectives, it was deemed purposive to introduce in the election of the Tribune an element of chance, or "lottery," which lobbies and electoral machines cannot easily control. This element is the assignment of the office to the candidate obtaining "the

second largest vote." The elector who casts his vote for the candidate favored by the majority in power knows that if too many do the same, his candidate risks coming out on top and therefore being discarded. On the other hand, should the elector withhold from that candidate his vote with the intention of reserving to him the opportunity to fill the second place and thus be elected, he knows that if too many do the same that candidate risks being demoted to third or lower place and counted out just the same. The intermediate areas of probabilities are too fluid to be reliably precalculated. Thus the intervention of chance increases the chances for a genuine expression of a minority will.

Yet the electoral innovation contrived in Article 26 did not win all at once the suffrage of the Committee. There was inside it a slow process of mutual enlightenment and insistent persuasion. Even so, two members persisted in their objections, and the decision on this particular point was not unanimous.

The "leaders and experts" who studied the restricted edition of the Draft, insofar as they paid specific attention to that article, did not give support to the majority of the Committee. In impressive cross sections they took sides with the dissenting members.

Let us suppose that, in spite of this tentative canvassing and polling, the proponents of the surprising measure were and are right. Let us suppose that the reluctances originate in the traditional impact of the strictly quantitative principle of majority vote in the contemporary democratic mind, with no opening left for consideration of the deeply democratic substance which is intrinsic to the principle and prac-

rice of appointment to public office by chance and lot. This principle and practice were basic, not to speak of other antecedents and justifications, in the one direct democracy which ever, within its own limits, reached maturity and consistency, the Athenian. They still survive, perhaps hinting at a revival, in some marginal institutions of the modern democracies: most significantly, if we think that the field of activity of the Tribune of the People is justice, in the formation of such justice-administering bodies as the panels of jurors.

Even so, even if the majority of the Committee were theoretically right, it could hardly help feeling practically and politically wrong. What we had and have in mind is a constitutional proposal endowed with desirability while equipped with feasibility. If a procedural invention—no matter how, let us suppose, effective and subtle—is unable to find its way into the trained and sophisticated intelligences of leaders and experts, much less probable is it that it will be liked and endorsed by the large numbers of citizens and legislators to whom the ultimate word belongs.

Thus it might or should seem mandatory to drop this proposal, to forget about it.

But what shall we substitute for it? What is the alternative, or the choice of alternatives?

The alternative that spontaneously comes to the mind—wrote several correspondents almost with the same words—"is that of automatically having the second highest candidate for World President become Tribune."

The spontaneity of this suggestion will not be gainsaid; its validity is more than questionable. In the best of all cases—

even granting for the argument's sake that the presidential elections would run so candidly as to avoid any manipulation lifting to the second highest place a figurehead of the President, a Vice-President in Tribune's clothing; even leaving out of consideration the different qualifications which should be required for the presidential and for the tribunitial office1—in the best of all cases the Tribune would be a prosecutor and antagonist of the President, an Anti-President, an instrument and spokesman of frustrated power and unabdicating ambition. Neither would there be even the slightest assurance that the Tribune of the People, so elected, would be a representative of popular interests in the face of official power. He might well be a leader, an anti-leader, of reactionary drives or Tory loyalties. In the frame of these United States, A.D. 1932, Mr. Roosevelt would have been President, Mr. Hoover Tribune of the People. A.D. 1936 the Tribune of the People would have been Mr. Landon; he might be this year, if he were not elected, Governor Dewey. In England today the Tribune of the People would be Mr. Churchill. Whatever his other merits or those of our Republican standard bearers, they hardly designate him or any of them to that particular office.

There is in several of our correspondents a tendency to identify the general concept of (popular) minorities with the particular instance of one (political) minority, "His Majesty's Opposition," no matter whether progressive or conservative or regressive, advocate of neglected rights or custodian of privileged positions. The identification misses

1. On this particular topic, as well as for extensive explanation of the Tribune's office, see also "The Tribune of the People," in Common Cause, December, 1947.

the essential character and intent of the Tribunate of the People.

What then about a second alternative as proposed by another critic? "The Federal Convention shall elect by secret ballot three Tribunes of the People, with equal rights, the office to be vested in the candidates obtaining the largest votes."

The most relevant objection is not that a college of Tribunes, a committee, would be as far below the greatness and appeal of an office and responsibility conferred on one single person, as an executive committee of, say, the Swiss type would be below the majesty and responsibility which should be vested in one visible President.

More relevant is it that no way is shown to avoid that the successful tribunitial ticket be picked by the same majority which picked the President.

A third source suggests that the Tribune be chosen "from among the three or five candidates for Councilmen who received the highest vote in the Convention after those who were elected Councilmen, or, even more ingeniously, from among the candidates nominated to the Council by the Electoral Colleges, who, though they have received one of the nine largest votes in the nominating College, were not elected to the Council by the Federal Convention."

The proposal, still tentatively formulated, needs clarification. It seems clear already, however, that the Tribune so elected would be in most cases a secondary figure with not much prestige in the eyes of the world.

A fourth alternative suggests: "When the candidates for President have been reduced to three by preferential ballot,

make the balloting public. Then when the President has been elected, let the minority or minorities form themselves into a caucus and proceed to elect the Tribune, eliminating, if you choose, the losing presidential candidates as candidates for the office of Tribune."

Interesting. But the proposal, apart from drawbacks it has in common with others, overlooks the gravity of the abolition of secrecy in the most important of all electoral operations.

Fifth and last came the suggestion ("to make sure that the Tribune will come from the second largest party") that a candidate for Tribune should run with every candidate for President and for the same length of term. "If the ticket wins, he naturally goes into the cabinet as Attorney-General. If it is the runner-up, he becomes Tribune. This takes care of your objection that a Tribune should have different qualifications from a President."

It does take care of this objection, to the extent that the Tribune may be expected as a rule to have been a law school graduate. It does not take care of the much weightier objection that the Tribune so elected would speak and act as the might-have-been President by proxy, with consequences no better and in certain respects even worse than would arise from the straight appointment of a defeated presidential candidate to the Tribunate. Here again the general idea of "minorities" (the mixed assemblage of the "humbled and injured," of the socially malcontent) is unduly held interchangeable with the specific and strictly political concept of "opposition," the party which lost the last elections.

It should be noted that the last proposal, as attractive before closer inspection as it is inventively adroit, reached the Committee three months, or more, after the distribution of the restricted edition. This points to the possibility and hope that other lingering critics of that edition or new readers of the published text may procure in further stages of communication and mutual aid some better alternative, fully acceptable and definitively solving the knot.

On Further Stages of Study and Action

What, then, is our view of those further stages, of the purpose and policy of this Committee together with the growing numbers of those, outside and yet inside this small widening circle, who wish to give aid and comfort in the pursuit of the common cause?

A "Statement of Purpose and Policy of this Committee," particularly in regard to World Constitution and United Nations, is included in the second Appendix to this volume. It dates back to October, 1946. It has not been reversed in the meantime.

In the meantime the mistrust expressed at that time in regard to the U.N. as shaped then and now, has been confirmed by a process of disablement verging on disintegration; while the hope has not waned altogether that the organs of the U.N., more especially the General Assembly, may provide, if they so decide, the most desirable passageway toward a true world union. The hopes which a perseverance we never shared put, even as late as 1946 or even 1947, in international atomic control have waned altogether. The respite granted to our atomic monopoly—whether three years or five or a few more as variously contended by atomic scientists or other forecasters—has narrowed. The rift between Russia and America has grown to a gulf.

On the other hand new forces-in Europe, in Asia, perhaps also in Latin America—are born or near to birth, and hidding for their place in the sun, with an apparent destiny, from nature and interests, to act, if there were time, for halance and peace. A liberal-socialist mediation between communism and capitalism is here and there, most conspicnously in England, conceivable or actual. Continental and world federalist movements have been gaining momentum. Responsible statesmen, more or less outspokenly, here or there, have been joining them. A World Constitutional Convention, popular or official, whether overtly with its real name and task or in the guise of a U.N. Assembly to "rewrite" or "amend" the U.N. Charter, is being planned under authoritative sponsorships, for as early as 1950 (or earlier). The knowledge that palliatives will not do, that the opportunity is short, that a world constitutional order is the only alternative to world destruction and world tyranny has been making headway.

It is in this sector of the less tragic vista that our own endeavor seeks and finds its place.

A British leader wrote, January, 1948:

This question of World Government is being thrust more rapidly than ever before informed attention. In the Foreign Affairs Debate last week it became clear that sooner or later things have got to be "brought to a head with the Soviet Union." This we assume means some form of an ultimatum. There is only one kind of ultimatum which could be given to the Russians, with any chance of acceptance and avoidance of war. That ultimatum is a workable Constitution of World Government. . . . If we have not got an acceptable Constitution ready in time then an ultimatum will be given of the wrong kind and war must follow.

This describes, and circumscribes, our own effort. Our only hope and ambition is to have done a part of our part, and to be able to do other parts of our part in the future, within such limits as the reader of our Foreword already knows, in paving the way for the "workable Constitution," "ready in time," to which the British leader referred. What the techniques? What the means? Much will be determined by the circumstances and events. Some general directions, however, are visible already.

A series of regional meetings "at which the Preliminary Draft might be discussed point by point" has been suggested by a federalist leader in America. They will become more desirable and useful, here and abroad, as the circulation and knowledge of the Draft gains momentum. An open forum for critical discussion is provided in *Common Cause*, not without cooperation from other organs of research and opinion. Other plans of discussion and action are being articulated and gradually enacted by groups of young federalists, spearheads of the movement. "The Committee's work," according to one of them, "has really only just begun." "You have the opportunity," he wrote, "—and you are the only ones with the opportunity now—to lead in laying an ideological foundation to the movement."

The all too fervent expectation should be qualified. We think that the Committee as a group, with its monthly journal, and its members individually may serve well as a sieve or sieves, if the metaphor is appropriate, helping to separate the usable from the less useful elements in the mixed material of variants and alternatives that will accumulate in the process of cooperation and debate—glad if that process will be

simulated by the presence, more or less vaguely preannounced at this moment, of other competitive drafts, be they "maximal" or "minimal." We are fully aware at the same time that the remark of a friend overseas has its point. He feels that obstacles of a psychological nature would arise if world constitution were officially proposed above the signatures of a self-contained national group, American or other. He prefers endorsements as plurinational as possible. We never felt otherwise. True, of the eleven signers of this Preliminary Draft one is from a border or, so to speak, foreign country, Canada, three are of European birth and experience, immigrants and naturalized citizens, of earlier or later date, in this country. This, however, is far from enough. The goal should be, along with ulterior phases of improvement and change, an enlargement, plurinational, pluricontinental, pluriracial, within which the primal group should merge, finally to be, if need be, forgotten.

At the present stage it seems clear that the consultation of arestricted number of specialized readers is not sufficient for developments as conclusive, insofar as anything can be conclusive in this field of endeavor, as should be democratically expected from an intervention of public opinion which the publication of this volume cannot fail to expand and generalize. Several of the earliest readers, also among those whose response was more critical, expressed the advice that this Preliminary Constitution, as it becomes more widely known and more particularly discussed, "will have a steadily increasing effect," "will exercise great influence on the practical shape that the world government to be will assume."

"If anyone were to expect perfection in every detail,"

wrote one of those readers, "of course such a thing is impossible and undesirable." It is undesirable because it is impossible.

In the process of constitution-making two phases may be easily foreseen: the first of amelioration, the second of deterioration. In the first phase a Preliminary Draft, under the pressure and prodding of experts, intellectual leaders, and public opinion, should become better. In the second phase, when and if it is handled by governments and the powers that be, it will grow worse. The first feature to be lost in the second phase, supposing that meanwhile a constitutional text had been achieved of architectural proportions and harmonious texture, will be that symmetry, that harmony; since a thing of beauty, in the field of political actuality and action. is a thing for never. Then, and/or simultaneously, will come the compromises, the bargains, the untidy halfway concessions and halfway surrenders. It would be utopian, again, to anticipate that the Constitution which will be adopted by the World Republic will be a perfect one or even an excellent or a very good one. The optimist must be content with the prayerful hope that it may be fairly good, a not bad one. The most that can be envisioned without visionary indulgence is the possibility that the preliminary and post-preliminary drafts may be remembered and referred to in the never ceasing process of amendment and emendation of the human society and its world union-to-be.

This self-evident concept made the substance of our Foreword. It can be repeated as the closing note of this Summary Report.

March-July, 1948

Appendixes

Index of Committee Documents

This Index is intended as a partial record of the study and deliberation against whose background the Draft Constitution was built and probed.

Mimeographed copies of single documents and full sets of all one hundred and fifty in twenty-five volumes are available for limited distribution. Requests should be addressed to Common Cause, 975 East Sixtieth Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Full sets on microfilm can be obtained through the American Council on Public Affairs, 2153 Florida Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

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Documents Nos. 13, 58, 116, 117, 119 and 127, and 139 as listed in the foregoing Index have been published, respectively, in Nos. 4, 3, 8, 7, 1, and 2 of Common Cause, a Monthly Report of the Committee To Frame a World Constitution.

Specific constitutional problems examined in this journal, besides those treated in Documents Nos. 13, 116, and 117, include: "The 'Parliament of Man,' "August, 1947; "One World clude: The Callms," September; "The Executive Power," Ocand Nine Realms," September; "November Power," Ocand Nine Realms," November 1998, and Nine Relation of Rights," November; and "The Tribune rober; "The Bill of Rights," November; and "The Tribune of the People," December.

General problems of world constitution making, besides, those treated in Documents Nos. 13, 58, and 119, have been discussed by: G. A. Borgese, "One World and Seven Problems," July, 1947; Robert Redfield, "The Price of Peace," and Stringfellow Barr, "Education: For Nationals or for Human Beings," September; Rexford Guy Tugwell, "Some Implicarions of Oneness in the World," November; Robert M. Hutchins, "A Speech in Denver: Constitutional Foundations of World Order," and Albert Guérard, "The Peril of Pretorianism," December; Mortimer J. Adler, "Justice," January, 1948; Quincy Wright, "Constitution-making as Process," and Gerald Barnes. "Constitution-making as Planning," February; Erich Kahler, "The Question of a Minimum Constitution," G. A. Borgese, "The Age of Nations," D. Dux, "Beyond the Nation State," Mortimer J. Adler, "War and Peace in Western Thought," George Catlin, "World Government and Social Justice," and Gertrude S. Hooker, "Whose Are the Rights of Man?" June; G. A. Borgese, "The Myth of World Government," D. Dux, "Article Fifty-one," July.

New national or local constitutions in France, Italy, India, Japan, Venezuela, the three German near-states of Bavaria, Hesse, and Württemberg-Baden, and Burma, have been analyzed by Albert Guérard, George T. Peck, Elisabeth Mann Borgese, Theresa L. Hildebrand, Dieter Dux, Max Rheinstein, and Marguerite Wardlow in the August, September, October, November, 1947, January, February, and May, 1948, issues. Books particularly relevant to constitution-making and world union have been reviewed in each issue. A Selected World Government Bibliography by Gertrude S. Hooker was published

in September, 1947.

Articles related to world federal action include: Robert M. Hutchins, "1950," and Mortimer J. Adler, "Five Hundred Years from Now or Five?" July, 1947; G. A. Borgese, "The Founding Convention," August; Henry Usborne, "The 1950 Convention: Unofficial or Sovereign?" October; Harris Wofford, "Montreux: World Movement in Microcosm," November; Edith Wynner, "The Peoples' Convention," January, 1048; Phillips Ruopp and Stephen Benedict, "Federalists '47," February; Harris Wofford, "Dead End: Federalism Limited" and "Strait Is the Gate," May and June; and an editorial "Toward a World Federal Convention," June; "Big Two Meeting and World Convention," July. Three articles by G. A. Borgese on "Russia and One World," appeared in the October, November, and December issues, and "Considerations on Germany" in May, 1948. Surveys of Soviet, Catholic, Protestant, and American labor opinion on World Government were published in July, August, September, and October, 1947; Surveys of Reactions and Responses to the Preliminary Draft, in May, June, and July, 1948.

World Constitution and United Nations

The following declaration, or Statement on Purpose and Policy of This Committee, was discussed and unanimously approved in the opening session of the Committee's tenth meeting, October 24, 1946:

The purpose that differentiates this Committee from the many associations or institutions that either promote the general idea of World Government or specialize in the proposal of particular amendments to the U.N. Charter, is to embody the idea of World Government in an exact and organic pattern of World Law. A preliminary World Constitution, fulfilling at the same time the requirements of the desirable and of the feasible, should provide a starting point for further elaboration and positive action by public opinion and governments; which action in turn should lead to an official World Convention and to the establishment of a world federal union wielding as much power and enacting as much justice as is necessary for the prevention of war.

Whatever the difficulties of such an undertaking, it is one in which realism and idealism concurrently offer ground for confidence, however guarded, of success. The deterioration of other hopes—U.N., Security Council, Atomic Control—is obvious. Unspecified propaganda for a World Government whatsoever, whose instruments and functions remain unknown, would be soon self-defeating; while partial amendments to the U.N. Charter, whether likely to be accepted or not, bear significance only as entering wedges for far more radical transformations. It should go without wider developments it expects from public collaboration, in a spirit wider developments it expects from public collaboration, in a spirit wider developments it expects from public collaboration, in a spirit wider developments it expects from public collaboration, in a spirit wider developments it expects from public collaboration, in a spirit wider developments and authority of the U.N., if the U.N. well be that the machinery and authority of the U.N., if the U.N.

so decides, will prove some day to be the best available passageway toward a real world union. In this context the constitutional draft we are trying to design should be considered as an all-round amendment to the U.N. Charter, adopting its ends while proposing the adequate means.

A document of this kind, endorsed after necessary improvements and changes by public opinion and responsible governments, and containing a practicable and unequivocal promise to the whole of mankind, should—if still in time—help strongly to prevent World War III. Were an armed conflict to become inevitable, such a document to the U.N. Charter, adopting its ends while proposing the than did the Atlantic Charter, the course and outcome of the struggle and help to shape a livable world for the survivors.

World Government and Russia

These are the concluding pages, condensed, of an essay on "Russia and One World" published first in *Common Cause* (October-December, 1947). They can be considered expressive of views and expectations prevalent in the Committee and among its closer associates.

All apostolate and action for World Government was summed up by Vishinsky at Lake Success (October 6, 1947) in one straight sentence unmasking the whole thing as an anti-proletarian "maneuver," as a telltale camouflage of capitalist imperialism, generally Western, specifically American. One may feel dismayed at the tedious monotony ringing hollow with defunct or moribund terminologies. The point, however, is that Russia objects to any World Government intended as a world-governed Russia under the thumb of a robot majority. Hence the cult of the veto, hence the surprising guardianship of national sovereignty.

What, if any, is the nugget of truth in Russia's misconception of our aims? If there is no nugget of truth whatsoever, what nevertheless in our thinking and acting offers occasions or pretexts for that misconception, and how can we obviate the dangers and damages of the "misunderstanding"? In other terms, is there any way of convincing or trying to convince Russia that the One World we have in mind is not the One Empire of monopolistic capitalism and that the pinnacles of our belief rise higher than the skyscrapers of Wall Street?

If what our western world federalists have in mind is a world federal union with powers adequate for the prevention of war,

as they put it, and for the enjoyment of the "blessings of peace," but no binding commitment toward the final dismantlement of colonialism, outlawry of racial discrimination, provisions for social security—these three being the acid tests of any world federal thinking—if that is the case, our western world federalists may talk to one another for years and decades to come. Those millions inside our borders, those hundreds of millions abroad who do not care much for liberty without bread, who do not have anything to be secure about, who do not remember any blessings of peace or war, will not listen—or will laugh. The platform for Mr. Vishinsky's or Mr. Molotov's perorations will be all aglow.

But let us suppose what we have in mind is not this style. Let us suppose that public opinion and responsible government, in this country and whatever other countries are pledged to progress and hope, will turn toward the adoption and offer of an unequivocal world law; a law, we mean, unmistakably renouncing the deceit and double talk of our previous dispensations, and responding honorably to the demands of, say, a Mazzini or Hugo, a Henry George or Gandhi. What would be the effect on Russia and the Russian-dominated world itself? "He who makes of democracy a religion," said Mazzini, "will save the world."

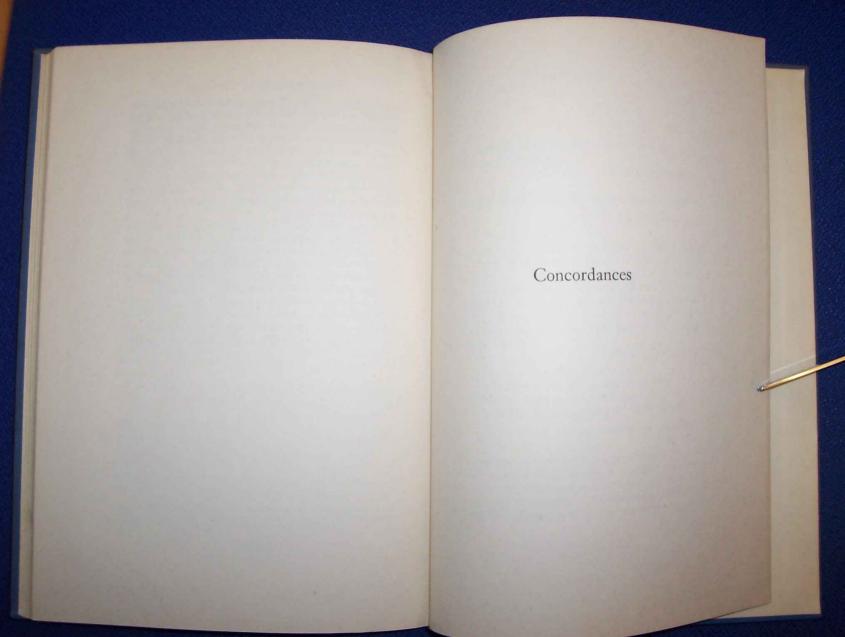
If the West comes out with a proclamation incorporating all vital human religions, the socialist religion included, and with a binding plan or constitution pledging unmistakably respect to and observance of the just interests of all nations, the Russian nation being quite conspicuously present in the first row where she belongs, then the Russian people, no matter what short-lived segregation might be contrived by any iron curtain, will grow restive under any propaganda indoctrinating them with the notion of a capitalist conspiracy. It will become a tougher

and tougher job to sell the Russian people the idea of a desperate defensive war which would obviously be desperate—against the alignment, in that case, truly, of the overwhelming majority of mankind—but manifestly aggressive, the final frenzy that is precursive of doom. The rulers of the Russian people would change their minds. And why write off the miracles, not so rare, of persuasion? of conversion? Or the Russian people would change their rulers. For force without some measure of consent will not endure and as Czarism perished a neo-Czarism may perish too.

The proposition then is peace, and will to peace, manifested in an invitation to the Russian nation to come Home; Home being the universal city of man wherein all nations are free under the one sovereignty of mankind until the boundaries themselves between nations and races, big and small, pale into the quaintness of a curiously recorded quasi-human past.

To design the home of man, to show its open gate to the Russians and all men, is the assignment of the West—until West and East are one—with America of necessity as the worker from whom the world in the initiatory phase expects most.

^{1.} On what is dead and what is living in the Marxist religion and on national and other causes for unrest in Soviet Russia the reader is referred especially to pages 221 ff. of this essay, Common Cause, December, 1947.



Concordances

And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

The whole world of mortals is an interdependent organism.

Mahabharata

Now, as to universal love and mutual aid, they are beneficial and easy beyond a doubt. It seems to me that the only trouble is that there is no superior who encourages it. If there is a superior who encourages it, promoting it with rewards and commendations, threatening its reverse with punishments, I feel people will tend toward universal love and mutual aid like fire tending upward and water downwards—it will be unpreventable in the world.

Mo-TI (5th cent. B.C.)

By loving wisdom doth the soul know life. What has it got to do with senseless strife Of Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Arab, Turk?

MOHAMED RUMI (13th cent.)

O race of men, in what storms and losses, in what shipwrecks must thou needs be tossed, so long as, a beast of many heads, thou strivest after different things, and hearest not what sounds to thee through the trumpet of the Holy Spirit, "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity."

DANTE

Let the lovers of discord and the promoters of bloodshed between nations, divided only by a name and a channel, rather reflect that this world, the whole of the planet called earth, is the common country of all who live and breathe upon it.

ERASMUS

God grant, that not only the Love of Liberty, but a thorough Knowledge of the Rights of Man, may pervade all the Nations of the Earth, so that a Philosopher may set his Foot anywhere on its Surface, and say, "This is my Country."

FRANKLIN

How wonderful would it be if the Isthmus of Panama should serve us as the Isthmus of Corinth served the Greeks! May God grant that some day we may have the good fortune to install there an august congress of the representatives of the republics, kingdoms and empires to consider and discuss the vital interests of peace and war with the nations of the other three parts of the world. This sort of association may come into existence in some auspicious era of our regeneration.

BOLÍVAR

And, at last, after many devastations, overthrows, and even complete internal exhaustion of their powers, the nations are driven forward to the goal which Reason might well have impressed upon them, even without so much sad experience. This is none other than the advance out of the lawless state of savages and the entering into a Federation of Nations. However visionary this idea may appear to be, it is nevertheless the inevitable issue of the necessity in which men involve one another.

KANT

After the removal of all the selfish drives which have so far divided mankind and exhausted its strength in internecine strife, certed power against his last and common enemy: the brutal aims, man will necessarily unite in this common purpose, becoming one body alive with the same spirit and love.

FICHTE

But of a noble mind is he who dares lift up against our common doom his mortal eyes, who will not add fraternal hate and wrath, of all evils the worst, to his own woes. Nature he calls our foe; and since in the beginning Mankind's whole family was linked and banded against her, he holds all men to be confederate together, and with a love sincere embraces all alike, bestowing and expecting succour prompt and valiant in the perils and anguish of their joint warfare.

LEOPARDI

And we can affirm that in the ethical progress of man, mutual support—not mutual struggle—has had the leading part. In its wide extension we also see the best guarantee of a still loftier evolution of our race.

KROPOTKIN

Mankind as a whole has always striven to organize a universal state. There have been many great nations with great histories, but the more highly developed the more unhappy they were, for they felt more acutely than other people the craving for world-wide union

DOSTOEVSKY

Humanity is groaning, half crushed beneath the weight of the progress it has made. Men do not sufficiently realize that their future depends on themselves. They must decide first if they want to continue to live. They must then ask themselves if they want merely to live, or to make the extra effort necessary to fulfill, even on this refractory planet of ours, the essential function of the universe, which is a machine for making gods.

BERGSON

The great transitions are due to a coincidence of forces derived from both sides of the world, its physical and spiritual natures. Mere physical nature lets loose a flood, but it requires intelligence to provide a system of irrigation.

WHITEHEAD

that Eternal Reason all human kingdoms may compose in one ere Chaos renders all things to the One.

CAMPANELLA

Zeus, whether thou art Compulsion of Nature or Intelligence of Mankind, to thee I prayed.

EURIPIDES